PRESIDENT.

Then let it stand over to the next meeting. Now, we will come to the next item, "Resolutions."

Resolutions on matters of General Public Interest.

Mr. T. K. KRISHNA MENON.

The first resolution stands in the name of Mr. K. T. Mathew.

The Introduction of Free Compulsory Primary Education amindst the so-called depressed classes.

Mr. K. T. MATHEW.

Sir, my resolution reads as follows:—

"*That this Council requests the Government to introduce free compulsory Primary education amidst the Tiyyas, Pulayas and other so-called depressed classes in the State*".

I very much regret to say that the resolution is not satisfactorily comprehensive. It should have been more comprehensively worded so as to make Primary education free and compulsory to all classes. The resolution was so narrowed down in its application that the Government might not raise any serious objection in accepting it, and in the opinion of this House, if the resolution is not comprehensive enough, any one of its members could bring forward an amendment in order to make it satisfactorily comprehensive. On my part, I am for giving free compulsory Primary education to boys and girls of all classes alike, but lest I should be called "an impracticable visionary or faddist" by the Hon'ble Member in charge of the Department of Education, I refrained from widening the scope of the resolution.

Let me now explain my resolution. The resolution does not ask that Primary education should be made immediately free and compoulsory throughout the State. I know that elementary vernacular education is free in our State, and so the resolution asks primarily for introducing only another element, viz., compulsion, and that only with regard to some classes of people. Therefore, the request made to the Government is a very modest one, and it is one which could be accepted and carried out in practice. As there is no time-limit in the resolution for introducing compulsory education in all parts of the State, the Government can take a reasonable time for putting the resolution into effect throughout the State. In some parts of the State where the Tiyyas, Pulayas, and the so-called depressed classes live in large numbers, the resolution can soon be translated into action. The Government has accepted that education should be extended to those classes of people who have not been making full use of the educational facilities afforded by the Government, and it is, therefore, that the Government is giving

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

special encouragement to them. I do not say that compulsion is a panacea for all evils, and if compulsion is introduced, the special encouragements now given to them should be taken away by the other hand.

From the speech made by the Hon'ble Member for Education while discussing the resolution for the introduction of compulsory hand-spinning, I was able to understand that he is opposed to the introduction of compulsion in educational matters, and in giving expression to that opinion, he made a reference to the resolution which I have now placed for your consideration. I felt that I should answer him then and there, but kept silent, awaiting my first opportunity. The Hon'ble Member for Irinjalakkuda answered him in fitting terms, and succeeded in convincing this House that we do resort to compulsion in imparting education, and this House almost unanimously accepted the resolution for introducing Hand-Spinning as a compulsory handicraft in schools. My task is, therefore, very much lightened.

The Hon'ble Member for Education struggled hard to show that the introduction of compulsion would prove to be a failure. With all deference to his long experience in the Educational Department and to his wide learning, I may humbly mention that I differ from him. I am sorry to say so, but I must mention facts. I wish him to study a little more closely the history of Primary education throughout the world. If there is one fact established more clearly than any other in the history of Primary education, it is this, that, without a resort to compulsion, no State can ensure a universal diffusion of education among its people. England is known for her strong love of individualism, and what did happen there? Was not the principle of compulsion introduced there? What was the course taken by Japan to root out ignorance from her country? Led by the German States, country after country in Europe and America followed successfully the system of compulsory education. England with her strong love of individualism stood out at first against the Continental system of compulsory education, but in the end had to give way. In 1870 the first step towards making elementary education compulsory was taken. This introduced permissive compulsion. In 1876 another enactment was passed, and in 1880 a third enactment was passed and this completed the fabric of compulsion. In 1886 a Royal Commission was appointed to report on the working of the measures adopted, and this Commission bore eloquent testimony to the most satisfactory result which compulsion had produced. They gave expression to their

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

opinion in these unmistakable words:—

"It is to compulsion that the increase of the numbers on the roll is largely attributable."

Sixty years ago, Japan was a small island in the Pacific. To-day she is a great kingdom. Her place under the sun is among the first powers of the world. She advanced when the Mikado adopted the root principle of preparing the ground by compulsory education of his subjects.

Veteran Indian educationists have supported the introduction of compulsory Primary education in our country. I may recall to your mind the gallant fight put forward by Mr. Gokhale in the Imperial Legislative Council, for introducing elementary education free and compulsory in British India. Although his efforts were not crowned with success, no one would venture to suggest that Mr. Gokhale was not an educationist who understood the condition and needs of our country. Mr. Gokhale's resolution recommending that elementary education should be made free and compulsory throughout the country has opened a new chapter in the history of education in our country. Even before Mr. Gokhale drew pointed attention to the importance of introducing compulsory education in our country, the enlightened and far-seeing Ruler of Baroda had sown the seeds of compulsory education in his State. After an experiment of 15 years carried out in one of the taluks of his State, he extended the system to the whole of his State.

Let us examine the Maharaja's educational policy a little closely. The rate of illiteracy was higher in Amreli than in other parts of his State, and in spite of this fact, the Maharaja initiated the experiment of compulsory education in that part of the State where he would experience the maximum of difficulties.

Mr. S. F. NUNEZ.

To which State do you refer?

Mr. K. T. MATHEW.

I refer to Baroda.

Mr. S. F. NUNEZ.

What is the average literacy in Baroda?

Mr. K. T. MATHEW.

You can refer to the *Census Report*. I do not make any comparison between Cochin and Baroda.

The Maharaja's scheme provided that Primary education should be free and compulsory in the first three standards, and that all boys between seven and twelve years of age must attend school, unless there were strong and valid reasons for exempt-

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

ing them. Education in the same standards was made compulsory for all girls between seven and ten years of age. Later the age-limit for girls was raised from 10 to 11. The legal guardian of any child of compulsory school-going age, (who remained away from schools without satisfactory reasons for ten days in succession, or fifteen days out of any month,) was to be fined two annas. To make the system work, the Director of Vernacular Education and teachers conducted propaganda among parents and convinced them that compulsory education would benefit them in spite of the slight loss and hardship which might be caused. Special facilities were provided for the education of girls and children of the depressed classes. The Education Reports of the State of Baroda explain in detail the working of the compulsory education in the State.

The Maharaja of Baroda has set an example in the cause of education. I may cite here a few encouraging words of His Highness, spoken to a vast assemblage of peasants and artisans. His Highness said:--

"The reason why I am so anxious that boys and girls should attend the school maintained by the Government is not because I am a tyrant or wish to gratify a whim. I insist upon that course, because I love my people, and wish to increase their prosperity and happiness. By attending school, boys and girls will acquire knowledge, which, unfortunately, has been denied to most adults of the present generation. That knowledge will make them more useful to their parents and guardians and to themselves, and will increase their earning capacity.

"I wish the parents and guardians to take special note of this fact. I know that many of them feel that compulsory education on which I insist is cheating them of the labour of their children, which they can ill spare. I know it, because of the many complaints that have been made, and I insist that complaints shall be reported to me.

"It is quite true that boys cannot attend school and at the same time work in the fields, or that girls can be in the class room and at the same time be minding the babies at home. It is also true that in the present conditions the parents feel keenly the loss which they suffer through the absence of their children at school for a number of hours out of the day.

"Remember, however, that the small sacrifice which you are called upon to make is going to bear shortly very fine fruit. What the children are taught in the schools will enable them to

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

perform any tasks that they may assume with greater knowledge and more expertly, than would have been the case, had they never entered a class.

"The Education Department is making efforts to fix the school hours so as to cause the least amount of inconvenience possible. I have every desire to remove all grievances, so long as the future of the children is not sacrificed. They must continue to receive education, for education is for their good, for your good, and for the general good of the State".

The words of the Maharaja are pregnant with meaning, and many a criticism urged against the introduction of compulsory education the Maharaja answers in the above cited speech.

Following the enlightened policy of the Ruler of Baroda, British Indian Provinces and many Municipality towns are introducing compulsory Primary education. In the United Provinces, the Minister of Education has introduced in the Legislative Council there a Bill known as "the United Provinces Compulsory Education Bill." At the meeting of the Council held last December, the Bill was referred to a Select Committee, and it was directed that the report should be submitted on or before the 28th of this month. In some other Provinces also attempts are being made to introduce compulsory education.

It must be admitted that our State has been following a liberal policy for popularising education, and it has produced very good results. The last *Census Report* shows that in literacy Cochin is far ahead of many States. But it should regretfully be pointed out that the so-called depressed classes still remain steeped in ignorance and darkness. The Tiyyas and the so called depressed classes form a large bulk of the population of the State, but the percentage of literacy among them is lamentably low. From the *Administration Report of the year 1100*, it is seen that out of 1,06,209 pupils in the State, only 1,192 were Pulayas. The percentage of Pulaya pupils is thus disappointingly small. In spite of this fact, the Government have considerably reduced the amount set apart for the education of the depressed classes. In 1097 the Government had set apart Rs. 30,000 for the education of the depressed classes, but in the year 1100, a sum of Rs. 9, 950 only was spent. While all other Governments in India are annually increasing the amount earmarked for the education of the depressed classes, our Government is following a policy of retrogression and drastic and undesirable retrenchment. The Government is spending about 12 lakhs of rupees for education, but the amount allotted for the education of the depressed classes is only about

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

Rs. 10,000. This is quite unsatisfactory. Should it be pointed out that it is not an enlightened policy to keep in ignorance, superstition and darkness some classes of our people ? It is not an exaggeration to say that the Pulayas, Parayas and other depressed classes are still in a semi-barbarous and pitiable condition. Dirt, disease and destitution, drink, dissipation and debt--these are the evils under which they are labouring. The rich are exploiting them every day, and they forget the Panchama is really flesh of our flesh and bone of our bone. I recommend to the attention of this House the learned Presidential address delivered by Dr. Brijendranath Seal at the ninth Panchama Conference of Mysore. He rightly points out in these words that "the most powerful instrument and surest guarantee of an all-round social betterment is a well-devised system of education." Would any one in this 20th century seriously contend that these classes of people were made for being kept down as slaves, and that even the faint glimmer of rudimentary knowledge should not be made available to them ?

It is universally recognised that a certain minimum of general instruction is an obligation which an enlightened State owes to all its subjects, and every civilised State is trying to meet this obligation by making Primary education free and compulsory. I venture to state that our educational policy has not been successful, as far as the depressed classes are concerned, although in the case of others it has produced good results, and this shows, as far as the depressed classes are concerned, a different policy should be adopted. They are still caste-prejudiced and superstitious, poor and ignorant. They should be given education, for only then shall we be able to raise the quality of the human capital of our State, and be able to discover and develop the men of genius, who, according to the intuitive estimate of Ruskin, and the statistical estimate of Odin, are to be found in all strata of society. Education alone will stimulate these hidden seeds of genius to sprout, and thus help forward the progress of our State.

One possible obstacle which might stand in the way of the Government in accepting this resolution is perhaps the question of finance. I have paid my best attention to this problem, and considered it in almost all its bearings. It has already been pointed out that compulsory education can be introduced in taluk after taluk or village after village. The discussion which took place at the budget session of this Council should now be recalled to mind. Non-official members brought to the attention of the Government that retrenchment is possible in almost all

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

the departments of the Government, and on behalf of the Government, the President assured this House that a Retrenchment Committee would be appointed. But months have passed, and the year is slowly coming to a close, and yet no Retrenchment Committee has been appointed. It is the duty of the State, as it is of every family and individual, to economise expenses. But, if our Government is not giving a long lease of life to unnecessary and lavish expenditure without heeding to the well-considered opinions of the representatives of the people who have gathered here, the argument that the Government have no money to carry out useful schemes proposed by this House falls flat on the ground. Again, it should be stated that the question of finance does not seem to be a very serious one. In the *Administration Report of 1100*, published by the Government a few days before, it is mentioned that "the State had thus, at the end of the year, a net asset of Rs. 41,56,450, after providing for all liabilities". It is an unwise step to hoard up money, sacrificing the well-being and progress of the people. It should further be noted that there are various legitimate sources of income still to be tapped, and the Hon'ble Member for Mulakunnattukavu has drawn attention to some of these in his learned budget speech. The question of finance need not, therefore, harass the Government or any one of us.

The Tiyyas and all the depressed classes in our State remain even to-day steeped in ignorance. Their progress is handicapped in various ways, and the State lends its support to retain the obstacles cast in the path of their progress. Caste prejudices and a sterility of mind shy of all novelty debar them from benefiting by the present means of education. They are unable to help themselves, and it devolves upon the Government to help them. A Government that exists for the good of the people, instead of handicapping such classes of people, must help them on their onward march of progress. The task is difficult and the burden heavy; besides, a century of neglect and ill-timed measures has still more encumbered it. The duty, therefore, is all the more pressing, urgent and necessary.

If the Government feel nervous about financial responsibility, I may suggest the appointment of a Committee, with a non-official majority to investigate and frame definite proposals.

The Committee may also be asked to report on the practicability and advisability of introducing free compulsory Primary education throughout the State. Let me conclude by quoting the words of the veteran educationist and a renowned politician, Mr. Gokhale:—

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

He says:—"The only way that the world has discovered to secure universal education in a country has been by making it compulsory and free. This is the only method that the world has found to be successful, and so far there is no other method in the field."

Mr. S. F. NUNEZ.

Sir, I second the resolution, and in doing so let me state at the outset that the dissimilation of the general standard of literacy among the masses depends not so much upon the mere introduction of the Elementary Education Act but upon the operation of the Act. It is practically to emphasise this point of view of the Government that I interrupted the mover at the very beginning of the speech. This morning, while I was going through the statistics given in the latest *Census Report of India*, I found that in Baroda there were only 210 males and 42 females educated out of a thousand people.

Mr. C. ACHYUTA MENON.

Is that the latest *Census Report*?

Mr. S. F. NUNEZ.

This is of the year 1921.

Mr. C. MATTHAI.

Years have passed after that.

Mr. S. F. NUNEZ.

Now, in Cochin, out of 1,000 men, 274 males and 99 females are literate.

Mr. C. ACHYUTA MENON.

Are you sure that it is the latest record? 116 per mille is the ratio of literacy in Baroda. Now, their number of literate people is fewer than ourselves, though they have introduced the Compulsory Education Act long ago.

Mr. S. F. NUNEZ.

And we have not introduced it. The inference is that the spread of education does not depend on the Elementary Education Act, but upon the operation of the Act.

PRESIDENT.

Does it depend upon the question of compulsion? Literacy does not depend upon compulsion. Of course, with compulsion in Baroda we find a lower percentage of literacy. Without compulsion we have here a higher percentage of literacy.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

Mr F. S. NUNEZ.

It is not the mere introduction of the Act, or it is not the mere introduction of compulsion, but the operation of the Elementary Education Act that is the cause of this literacy.

Mr. C. ACHYUTA MENON.

That is exactly the point.

Mr. S. F. NUNEZ.

I sound a note of warning. In the first place, the future success of this Act, if it is passed—and I hope the House will oppose it—depends upon the successful operation of the Act, and in the second place, the figures for Cochin are sufficiently high, though we have introduced no Acts. We are not lagging behind the people of other States in the matter of literacy, because we want to attain the highest development in this direction.

I am not going to argue at length on the need of compulsory elementary education in general nor to go into the historical background of the Elementary Education Acts of England, Japan and of the various countries and of the Provinces of India which have introduced this Elementary Education Act. All these historical surveys have been lucidly made by the mover of the resolution. But one point I want to urge before the House, and that is, in our desire to intensify higher education in the State, we may not give that amount of practical interest to the operation of the Elementary Education Act which is required for final, success, and that was the reason why I emphasised on the need for the better operation of the Elementary Education Act.

PRESIDENT.

The *operation* of that law can only come after the *introduction* of the compulsory Elementary Education Act itself.

Mr. S. F. NUNEZ.

Sir, I am not going to urge the introduction of the Elementary Education Act all at once. Because that involves a heavy outlay of expenditure, and if we are to judge the financial situation of the State as seen in the last budget discussion, we find we cannot afford to have it just now.

PRESIDENT.

What about our 41 lakhs of rupees referred to by Mr. Mathew?

Mr. S. F. NUNEZ.

If the Government can utilise that 41 lakhs without prejudice to other demands, I shall be the first to vote in favour of

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

compulsory education now. But I do not think that the people can certainly utilise 41 lakhs in the interests of compulsory education. Now, the resolution before us is the introduction of compulsory elementary education among the backward classes, and I have got some figures. Mr. Mathew in his eagerness for seeing the depressed elevated went into the general principles and the historical background. Here I have got a few statistics. The percentage of literacy in Cochin at the last Census was as follows :—Hindus 16·5, Indian Christians, 26·2, Anglo-Indians 28.8, Jews 26.8 and other non-caste Hindus 8. Here we find the Anglo-Indians, Indian Christians and Jews have got a higher percentage of literacy than the Hindus. Evidently, this low percentage is due to the backwardness of education among the so-called depressed classes, Tamil and Malayali Brahmins in the State and caste Hindus have a greater percentage of literacy than the Christians and Anglo-Indians. And if the percentage of literacy among Hindus goes down, it must be due to the low percentage of literacy among the backward classes. I think among the Hindus the percentage is lower on account of the backward condition of those sects who are known as the so-called backward and depressed classes. Here we have made out a case from facts and figures—a very low standard of literacy among the backward classes in spite of free elementary vernacular education—and this is the reason for introducing immediately compulsory elementary education among those depressed classes. I have not neglected Muhammadan education. In the *Cochin Education Report of 1099* the total number of Muhammadan boys and girls who know to read and write is 3,259 out of a total population of 50 or 60 thousand. That also is very low. We have sufficiently made out a case that in the interests of the so-called depressed classes, I say "the so-called depressed classes", because I do not want to make any distinction. In the Legislative Council this Compulsory Education Act must be forthwith introduced. Now, the introduction of the Act would involve a heavy outlay of expenditure. Here I have got a few schemes which would minimise the expenditure in this direction. One of the cheapest is the introduction of *Pial* schools which we had years ago.

PRESIDENT.

We will have to erect buildings at least.

Mr. S. F. NUNEZ.

We need erect only thatched buildings. Instructions could be given even from the shades of the trees.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

PRESIDENT.

In that case why should not these be introduced ?

Mr. S. F. NUNEZ.

We could introduce these at least. Boys could sit on the floor. I have seen in the National College at Aligarh instructions are given in thatched buildings only. There is not a single stone building there, for the College. I shall be satisfied with wooden, temporary sheds, beautifully erected, which could stand storm and bad weather. Further, I have seen boys studying in thatched sheds enjoying the best of health. They are better in health than the metropolitan students, where every kind of comfort is given to students. We have to give the devil his due. Here we have schools buildings where each or even each class should be of certain definite dimensions, and each boy should have a certain cubic feet of space. These are quite unnecessary. By saying these I am not running down the department. It is high time that we people should put a stop to these notions.

PRESIDENT.

The system of constructing buildings with certain difinite dimensions is adopted everywhere. I may say it is universal.

Mr. S. F. NUNEZ.

All those are quite absurd notions, even though many follow the system.

Mr. C. MATTHAI.

We do not insist on that. I encourage the boys to sit on the floor as used to be done in the olden days and to take the necessary instructions. We have many thatched, semi-permanent sheds in the State.

PRESIDENT.

I think, if Mr. Nunez will have a voice in the matter, he would certainly do away with all these things. (*Laughter.*)

Mr. S. F. NUNEZ.

I have nothing to say against the existing ones, but what I purposes is the erection of thatched buildings for educational purposes in the future, side by side with the existing ones.

PRESIDENT.

How are we to find money for the erection of buildings, even semi-permanent sheds ?

Mr. S. F. NUNEZ.

I am of opinion that the First Grade College at Ernakulam could be taken to Anappara.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

PRESIDENT.

But then, the University Commission does not permit the transfer.

Mr. S. F. NUNEZ.

They would insist upon many things, say, on a costly building, costly apparatus, etc. That is beside the point here.

I am not going to speak of the University just now. But I am referring to the compulsory Elementary Education Act. I shall conclude by making a reference to the Hon'ble Member for Vyttila. I remember even now how vehemently he referred during the budget discussion to the need of having compulsory elementary education in the State and pointed out to British Cochin close by as an example. Further, I can say that this is the only solution to elevate the depressed classes to that standard of social comfort and the standard of clean living fitted for civilised persons. I do not apply this to any particular class or depressed class. If you take Pulayas, for instance, it is no use to have such broad, liberal ideas as to bathe in the same tank and eat with the Pulayas, unless you can make them carry on a hygienic life by the light of education. We cannot have these social reforms practically carried out, until we elevate the so-called depressed classes by taking light and learning to their homes, whatever may be the expenditure and the difficulty. It may be that this House is for the practical working out of those reforms. We should first of all see that by compulsory education these people are raised to the same level as the members of other communities, and this could be done only by giving them education, and that only by introducing compulsory elementary education. (*Hear, hear.*) With these few words I resume my seat.

Mr. K. S. RAMA AYYAR.

Sir, I oppose the resolution. First of all, I object to the erm "depressed classes." I ask the Government that allowed this resolution whether there are any depressed classes in the State.

Mr. C. ACHYUTA MENON.

It is the "so-called depressed classes"

PRESIDENT.

It is a term used in all documents and official papers.

Mr. K. S. RAMA AYYAR.

Do the Government admit or recognise the existence of some such classes? Does not the word "depressed" imply some external force? If the Government say that they do recognise

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

that there are some depressed classes in the State, they must also be prepared to say who press these classes down. Is it the Government? Or, is it some other people? In either case it is unpardonable.

Mr. C. A. OUSEPH.

Somebody.

PRESIDENT.

What will be the better word, Mr. Rama Ayyar?

Mr. K. S. RAMA AYYAR.

"Backward classes".

Mr. C. ACHYUTA MENON.

We have another set of classes called "backward classes". "Depressed" is different.

PRESIDENT.

Are they different from "depressed classes"?

Mr. C. ACHYUTA MENON.

They are different.

Mr. C. MATTHAI.

Tiyyas, carpenters and others form backward classes. Pulayas, Nayadis, Ulladans, Parayas and others form depressed classes.

Mr. K. S. RAMA AYYAR.

If the Government admit any responsibility in the matter of keeping some classes of people down, I have to tell them it is high time they keep their hands clean. If the Government say that it is some other people that do it, then I tell the Government that it is their duty to see that such forces do not work. The word "depressed" in the resolution smells slavery. And if any in this Assembly think that there is slavery still lurking in the State in any form whatsoever, our first business is to abolish it, before we think of anything else. I expect a plain explanation from the mover of the resolution and a blunt answer from the Government, for the point raised is not anything to be trifled with.

The resolution says "Tiyyas, Pulayas and other so-called depressed classes". I am sorry no Pulaya is among us to make a reference. But as, happily enough, there are two Tiyyas, I take this opportunity to make a direct reference to the Hon'ble Members of that community. Are the members of your community depressed? If so, by whom, and in what way and to what extent? Do you accept the name "depressed classes" for your community?

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

Secondly, I am against introducing any sort of compulsion, in the matter of education. There are some parts of India where compulsion is now in force. In each of these parts, what was the exigency that forced the authorities to take this step, and what do the reports say about the results?

As far as I have been able to gather, compulsion was introduced, when conditions were very unsatisfactory. Education is good. Education is necessary. It is education that makes men of all. Without Primary education men are little better than beasts. Everybody knows all this. It is also well-known that making provision for Primary education is considered one of the primary duties of any Government. But providing for education is one thing, and compulsion is another thing. Our State has, of late, never lagged behind in the matter of making provision for Primary education. There are now 748 institutions imparting Primary education in the State. Of these, 164 are Government, 295 aided, and 209 private and unaided. The total number of children attending these schools is 32,871 *plus* 57,251 *plus* 6,921, which equals 97,043. I don't know exactly to what percentage this will work to the total number of the children of school-going age.

Mr. C. A. KUNJUNNI RAJA.

22·64 per cent in Primary schools.

Mr. C. ACHYUTA MENON.

70 per cent.

Mr. K. S. RAMA AYYAR.

But I understand that the percentage is about 70, including the Secondary Schools. If this is the pescentage, it certainly reflects credit on the Education Department of the State. Of course, there is 30 per cent left; and it is but right that these must also get the benefit of at least a Primary education. As there is enough provision, there being, on an average about one Primary School for every square mile, the right thing for the people is to take advantage of it. But it is clear that some people don't. And it is also at the same time clear that it is not because there are no schools. Is there any school in the State which refuses admission to children in the neighbourhood for want of room? If there is any such, the department must look to it. If there is any corner in the State where there are enough children of school-going age, but which is not provided with a school, the department must look to that also. Such little gaps may be found here and there, now and then, and of course, they have simply to be pointed out to be rectified. When provision is so very adequate,

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

and when the percentage is so very high, where is the necessity for compulsion? Cmpulsion is always an extreme measure, and may be resorted to, when all other means fail.

I can understand what the mover of the resolution wants. There are some particular classes which are conspicuously backward in point of education. I can also realise that they are kept back for reasons well-known to all. Those days are gone. Now, all classes are at perfect liberty to attend any school they want. That is what I believe. If, on the other hand, there are still any obstacles in any localities for any classes in the matter of getting admission into schools, the only thing that remains to be done is to remove the obstacles.

In making reforms, it cannot at any time be forgotten what we were yesterday .What was the percentage of children attending schools ten years ago? If anybody will take pains to compare the figures, he will find that the progress we have had during these ten years is eminently satisfactory. Now, if the gaps that may be found here and there are filled, and the obstacles, if any, are removed, the percentage will go up to 80, or 90 soon. This progress will come in the course of another 5 years. 90 per cent is certainly good result. Cent per cent result is not scored anywhere. Cent per cent is perfection absolute. That may be aimed at, but it is seldom achieved. Does anybody think that they have attained cent per cent results in blessed England—the country that we look up to for all our ideals? I believe they have not. I have seen European soldiers putting a cross against their names on pay day, instead of inscribing their names in token of acknowledgment. What does this mean? That simply means that there are some illiterates even in England. And then, has anybody any idea of the trouble that the Compulsory Education Act has caused in some parts of India by the penalties imposed on the guardians? The Hon'ble Member's motive is good. I admire it. He aims to bring about some changes in the condition of the depressed classes. The motive is commendable; but I object to the means. Compulsion is the last step—the most extreme step. That can be resorted to, as I said once before, when all other means fail. There are several other means before that. Persuasive means are always better, more wholesome, more effective, more lasting and most harmless. Let that be tried before anything else.

As to free education, I am sure the Primary Schools of the State do not levy any fees, and as such, Primary education is already free in our State.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

Mr. C. MATTHAI.

Sir, before I enter into the general subject, I should like to point out one or two misstatements of the Hon'ble mover. To begin with, he stated that he understood from a casual remark made by me when we were discussing another question that I was opposed to compulsion. Well, I have to contradict the statement. I never opposed compulsion. But what I said was that without compulsion we had achieved very much better results, and it is open to us to pursue the methods that we were pursuing until we are driven to a state when we shall have to resort to compulsion. I don't deny that we might reach that state, but we have not reached that stage yet. And then another point, which we made very much of, was that the Government was withdrawing help from depressed classes, that the Government was not sympathetic towards the education of the depressed classes, that, while other Governments were encouraging the depressed classes, we were discouraging the education of the depressed classes. As a matter of fact, what happened was we were trying expreiments that were never tried in neighbouring places—feeding for the purpose of drawing the children of the depressed classes to school.

Mr. K. T. MATHEW.

It was tried in Baroda.

Mr. C. MATTHAI.

Baroda is not a neighbour of ours. (*Laughter.*) Are all the depressed classes fed there?

Mr. K. T. MATHEW.

They tried in the case of some

Mr. C. MATTHAI.

What I understand is that they are not doing it in Baroda.

PRESIDENT.

It was an innovation in our State.

Mr. C. MATTHAI.

We found the conditions of the depressed classes were so bad that we had to resort to very special measures. At the outset, it was expressly made clear that we were not going to continue this sort of thing indefinitely. It was a bait, pure and simple. But we are going to hold out for a little time until these classes come up. The expenditure was going up tremendously; in two years it had come to 36,000 rupees, and if it should have continued, it would have gone up to one lakh that year. And I asked whether the Government was in a position to continue

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

this policy. We had brought about two thousand Pulaya pupils into our schools; we were spending half a lakh in feeding them, and we had about 15 thousand more of Pulaya pupils to be brought in.

PRESIDENT.

And sometimes, they come merely for food.

Mr. C. MATTHAI.

I made mention of the fact in the budget session. We had serious reasons to doubt whether they were all attending schools. That was one point among the reasons why we thought we might stop that sort of thing: That was not the only consideration. There was the other consideration whether it was financially possible for us to continue this experiment to the logical end of it. So, when the Hon'ble mover said that we are withdrawing all kinds of legitimate help from the depressed classes, I must say that even now we are not doing less than what other people are doing. Even under present conditions we are doing more than what other Governments are doing. As I explained to you in the course of the budget debate, we are now feeding Pulaya pupils once a week. That is to say, a child who attends four days a week is fed on the 5th day. And then we provide children with books, with slates, with clothes and pencils, which, I don't think, other States are doing.

PRESIDENT.

We feed only once a week, and that is only noon-meal.

Mr. C. MATTHAI.

Once a week only noon-meal. So that, to say that we have adopted a retrograde policy, and we are lagging behind as far as the education of the depressed classes is concerned, is stating what is contrary to fact. The Hon'ble mover has read a very great deal about education in Europe, Baroda and Japan. But I am afraid he has not understood the methods pursued in Cochin sufficiently to criticise them. For instance, in the resolution itself, he speaks of compelling Tiyyas and other depressed classes Tiyyas are not depressed classses. They are only backward classes. Well, as I said already, Tiyyas, Asaris, Valans, Velans and Muhammadans, all these are not depressed classes. We use these two expressions, because we have got classes that are depressed and backward.

Mr. C. ACHYUTA MENON.

The proportion of illiterates among Ezhuvas is 10 per cent, whereas that of literates among Pulayas is only 9.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

Mr. C. MATTHAI.

As matters now stand, Tiyyas are progressive in regard to education. Tiyyas are more forward in education than the Muhammadans and all other backward classes. They come next to caste-Hindus and Christians. If you look at the rate of progress, you will find they are making very rapid progress. So much by way of preface. I just wanted to clear certain misapprehensions of the Hon'ble mover.

As regards the general policy to be pursued, I do not think there could be any difference of opinion, and I don't think the Government differs from the most ardent advocates of compulsory education. We all agree that elementary education is an absolute necessity. Without elementary education we cannot have progressive Government. No progressive Government is possible, unless it rests on a broad basis of elementary education, unless the very poorest and most backward know to read and write, and have got the elements of knowledge; without this, representative Government and election and all that would be mere farce. We have got representative institutions even in our villages of the poor as well as the rich, so that no enlightened progressive Government, as we understand it, would be possible, unless we have elementary education extended widely over the whole State. On that point I don't think any of us differ. The question is: What is the policy that we have got to pursue in order to achieve this desired end? It is only in regard to methods to be pursued that we differ.

This question of compulsory education was seriously taken up by the Government 6 years ago, during the time of Diwan Mr. Vijayaraghava Charya, and he asked the then Director to investigate and submit a report, and that report was submitted to Government. Then it so happened that a Committee was appointed for the revision of the Education Code. A good many of the members of this House were members of that Committee of which I happened to be President, Mr. Vijayaraghava Charya was very keen on introducing compulsion. Mr. Davies had reported that it might be tried in certain villages. The Committee had a full and detailed discussion, and we arrived at the conclusion that, judging from past experience, we might be able to achieve very much better results, if we continued the policy that we were pursuing until then. After all, it is the result that matters; we have to keep our eye on our ends. Means are changeable. There is no virtue in applying a particular mehod, if you find better re-

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

sults could be achieved by using some other means. And we found that we could extend elementary education very much better by adopting a liberal policy of giving liberal help in the matter of elementary education, all possible help to agencies that would come forward to conduct elementary education. We pointed out, for instance, the percentage we had already reached, which was more than 65 per cent, that is, 65 per cent of the children of school-going age, were attending our schools, and only 35 per cent remained outside our schools. I said I could guarantee that another 20 per cent could be brought in, if only Government would give us sufficient funds to build schools and pay teachers and give help to private agencies, and where private agencies were not forthcoming, to open Sirkar schools and appoint Sirkar teachers, without using any kind of compulsion. If we simply stood behind and helped in that way, I said we could guarantee 85 per cent or even 90 per cent.

Mr. S. F. NUNEZ.

Private or aided?

Mr. C. MATTHAI.

Both. Where aided agencies come forward, of course, the better way would be to aid them. Where aided agencies fail, the Sirkar is to shoulder the responsibility. So, which was the better policy? Even if we introduced compulsion in 10 years, we are not going to reach 80 per cent, because our resources are limited. What we said was, within 10 years, by expending less money and making use of other people to do the work, we would be able to reach the same percentage, and Government was convinced, and though as I know personally, Mr. Vijayaraghava Charya was reluctant to give up the scheme, he was convinced that, so far as the conditions of Cochin were concerned, they were different from other countries, and he thought that the better way would be to pursue the path that we had recommended. As seen from the last report, we have got 72·3 per cent; that means nearly 72 ⅓ out of every hundred children of school-going age in our schools.

Mr. C. ACHYUTA MENON.

That calculation is not quite correct.

Mr. C. MATTHAI.

Children of school-going age form 15 per cent of the total popualtion. There are many pupils in our Secondary Schools who are above that age.

Mr. C. A. KUNJUNNI RAJA.

65 per cent of the children of school-going age are brought to our schools.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

Mr. C. MATTHAI.

It won't be quite 72 per cent. That is quite true, but, if we include unrecognised schools, it will be more

Mr. A. B. SALEM.

May I ask, out of the depressed classes, what is the percentage ?

Mr. C. MATTHAI.

I am coming to that. So much for the policy that we are pursuing. I admit that there are certain sections of the population whom we have not yet succeeded in bringing in sufficient numbers into our schools, and the depressed classes form one of these sections. And, therefore, as soon as the Government finds itself free to set apart sufficient funds for introducing compulsion, I think we shall be justified in advocating compulsion, so far as these backward classes are concerned. But we have to see whether our resources would admit of it. In introducing compulsion, when you find that children are not sent to school, because the earnings of the parents are not sufficient to feed the children, then you cannot bring starving children to school. It is your duty to feed them. When you advocate compulsion, you will have to advocate that position as well. You will have to find funds not only for running schools but for feeding children. It is purely a question of funds. The Hon'ble mover has pointed out that 41 lakhs are kept in reserve and unused, and so on. If Government are of opinion that these 41 lakhs are lying idle, I think the department would be most happy to make use of them for the good of the children of the State.

We feed them for the sake of bringing them to school. I do not think that mere feeding would draw them all into schools. For instance, when the harvest season comes, Pulaya children will not attend school. There are certain seasons when Pulaya lads disappear from the school, and they will come after all their holiday-making is over. So that what we have got to do is to see how much money we have for this purpose, for the spreading of elementary education in all parts of the State. It was stated by some members that we were not spending as much on elementary education as other Governments, and tha twe were spending too much on Collegiate and Secondary education. I think that statement I tried to explain during the budget discussion. If we compare what we are spending on Secondary and Collegiate education, for instance, with the expenditure in Travancore, we shall find that we are spending much less upon

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

the higher grades of education, and that we are spending more on elementary education. We compare very favourably, so far as the proportion of expenditure on Primary educationis concerned.

And then, as regards compulsion, the resolution, as it is worded, I think I must object to, on behalf of the Government, because the resolution advocates compulsion for Tiyyas and other depressed classes. Well, what is happening in other parts of India where the experiment is being tried is, in certain particular areas such as a Municipality or a Local Board, the option is given by Government, who say: "You may, if you like, introduce compulsion within your area for all classes." Take the Ernakulam Municipality. There may be illiterate caste-Hindus and Christians as well as poor Pulayas. If you compel only Pulaya lads to attend school, then in about four years there will be a turning of the tables. So that, if you are going to introduce compulsion, you must introduce compulsion irrespective of sections of the population. That is what other Governments are doing, and they insist on half this expenditure being met by local taxation, Government contributing the other half. Therefore, if we are going to adopt what is being done in British India, we have seriously to consider this aspect of the question. Are these Municipalities and Local Boards prepared to raise funds by taxation sufficient to introduce compulsion? As regards how this experiment works in British Cochin, I think the Hon'ble Member for Mattancheri may enlighten this House. What I hear is they are not altogether satisfied with the success of the experiment.

Mr. S. S. KODER.

They are only trying, and it is only one year.

Mr. C. MATTHAI.

I heard, but I do not know how far it is true, that a certain number of schools had to be closed down and teachers disbanded. I once went through British Cochin to have a look at their new schools. Members of this House who criticise our semi-permanent sheds would do well to visit those schools. We need not always follow the example of our neighbours. We have no reason to be dissatisfied with the results so far achieved. So the position that Government would adopt in this matter is that, until sufficient funds are forthcoming, until Government finds its way to place a very substantial fund for this purpose at the disposal of the department, compulsion would not be adopted. Compulsion would mean that the whole responsibility is taken by the Government. When in a 'locality there are no people to put up buildings, if you have compulsion, it would be

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

the duty of Government to provide buildings. Government must clothe the children, must give slates, books, etc., to those who are too poor to provide themselves. So too with regard to feeding. When you adopt compulsion, you will have to assume all these responsibilities. If not, keep on the background and help private agencies. By this your responsibility is lessened, and with Rs. 50 you may be able to do that which you may not be able to do even with Rs. 100. Buildings are put up by local people, because in many cases they want their own children to be educated.

Then another means is adopted whereby more children of backward communities are brought into school. We have a rule which lays down that no full grant will be given, unless there is a minimum of 30 pupils in the class. The rule was not strictly enforced in past years. Now, with the expansion of education, we find that it is not so very hard to satisfy the rule. Managers and teachers of schools exert themselves to the utmost to bring in pupils, and I find schools getting full strength. In certain schools the number may be less than the minimum, due to certain special difficulties. In such cases Government have given me discretion, but I use it very, very sparingly. Of course, I am considered to be very hard-hearted. (*Laughter.*)

In the matter of elementary education our policy is to allow local bodies, wherever possible, to open schools, and we give them help, and transfer the responsibility to them; and with the funds set free, the Sirkar opens schools in backward regions. This is the policy we have been adopting throughout. In some Sirkar schools we do not have the full number of pupils that we would like to have. At the same time Headmasters know very well how much pressure the department is bringing to bear upon them. Before the reopening of schools, strict instructions are given to all heads of schools that we expect the teachers to go round and canvass pupils and compel them to come in. As I said, we have 72·3 per cent attending schools, I mean, in 1100. So it is safer for us to pursue this policy, which is more economic and not less satisfactory from the point of view of results achieved.

Reaching 90 per cent would be considered very good. Even in the most advanced countries where compulsion is used, as in England, the percentage is only 92 or 93.

Mr. K. T. MATHEW.

What is the percentage of the depressed classes?

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

Mr. M. K. RAMAN.

It is about ten per cent.

PRESIDENT.

Less than that.

Mr. C. MATTHAI.

But I say we are feeding them once a week. We give them slates and clothes, and in English schools we have exempted them from fees altogether. We had to stop daily feeding, owing to financial stringency. If sufficient funds are placed at our disposal, we can, of course, use compulsion so as to raise the percentage to 90 or so in about 3 or 4 years.

PRESIDENT.

You want it only for this period, or it will be more or less stationary.

Mr. C. MATTHAI.

If you want to keep up this percentage, you will have to continue the grant. After some time, when they imbibe a taste for learning, and their economic condition improves, they may come without feeding.

Mr. A. B. SALEM.

May I know Sir, the number of school-going students of the depressed classes at school?

Mr. C. MATTHAI.

Something like 15,000.

PRESIDENT.

Something like 13,700. The total of depressed and backward students at school is nothing less than a lakh.

Mr. A. B. SALEM.

May I also know, what is the estimate of expenditure that would have to be incurred by Government for a child in the elementary school?

Mr. C. MATTHAI.

I say, from a rough calculation, to bring in all these 15,000, on buildings you must spend two lakhs, that is, at the rate of Rs. 2,800 for each, and then one lakh for paying teachers and for equipment and so on, and then, if you want to feed them, another three lakhs. Altogether, six lakhs.

Mr. I. E. AMBOOKAN.

May I khow, Sir, whether the Hon'ble Member has supported or opposed the resolution?

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

Mr. C. MATTHAI.

I could not accept the resolution in the form in which it is presented. What we want more than anything else is more funds. Our people are getting to have more and more belief in education, and in the generality of cases they send their children to school, if it is at all possible for them, though with the greatest difficulty. We have only to provide facilities to satisfy this craving for education. Now, you have already about 73 per cent, and another 17 per cent will make 90. 17 per cent can be effected in a few years without using compulsion. And then for the remaining 10 per cent you may have to use compulsion. I am not quite sure, when the 90 per cent are in, whether the remaining 10 per cent may not change their attitude. Even if we assume, for argument's sake that they retain their attitude of indifference towards education, what you have got to do is to use compulsion for the remaining 10 per cent. It minimises your responsibility to a great extent, if you succeed in getting your 90 per cent without compulsion. Is that not a sensible course to be adopted in preference to methods proposed by gentlemen with very high motives, no doubt, but with very little practical knowledge?

As I said, the right policy for Government would be to pursue the present policy and avoid this nightmare of compulsion for a little time more. The work will expand on a voluntary basis. When we find no more can be brought in by mere persuasion, then let us use the rod and the penal law. The Hon'ble Member's reference to Baroda reminds me of another side which is not perhaps advertised. For instance, I happened to read about the penal impositions amounting to a very decent amount imposed upon parents for not sending their children to school

PRESIDENT.

The introduction of compulsion is not justified under the present condition of things in Cochin; when we are pressing the principle of compulsion, we should see whether compulsion would produce desirable results. Besides, now-a-days, we find a change for the better. More boys are coming in, and so, if we go on like this, we will reach 90 per cent. That is, you don't want compulsion, and for the remaining 10 per cent compulsion may be required.

Mr. C. ACHYUTA MENON.

If compulsion is introduced, it is the local body that bears the expenditure. It is not from general revenues. At any rate,

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

we may wait and see how far compulsion is satisfactorily going on in British Cochin.

Mr. A. B. SALEM.

What amount of money is spent upon the non-depressed classes, on an average?

Mr. C. MATTHAI.

I said in the same school all sorts of pupils are taught. We have thrown open our schools even to the most depressed classes, and we find caste-Hindus, Christians, Muhammadans, Pulayas and others, sitting side by side.

Mr. A. B. SALEM.

My question is what is the average expenditure spent on a child?

Mr. C MATTHAI.

It may be something like Rs. 6 or Rs. 7. I am not quite sure. It is about Rs. 6, I think.

Mr. CHAKKO CHERUVATHUR.

Are slates and pencils supplied to the students of the so-called depressed class now?

Mr. C. MATTHAI.

I believe I have already answered the question.

Mr. A. B. SALEM.

Sir, I find that there is no difficulty for the Government to accept this resolution. I do not think I am betraying the confidence of the mover, when I say that this resolution was hatched in consultation with the speaker himself. We were for introducing free and compulsory Primary education throughout the State. We went into the matter and found, as the Director of Public Instruction has pointed out, that free compulsory education for the whole State is absolutely unnecessary, and we congratulated ourselves upon the position Cochin has attained in India in the matter of education and literacy.

Sir, when we have for every square mile a school, (as we have 780 institutions in 821 square miles), and when we have nearly 10per cent of the population in schools—to be exact, 97,043 out of 9 lakhs of population are in schools—and when we have such a state of affairs,it is unnecessary to ask for compulsory education, and I perfectly agree with the department,and I congratulate the Hon'ble Member upon his advice to avoid compulsion in general.

Now, Sir, I find that the depressed classes or the so-called depressed classes are very small in number. We would be

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

glad to omit the word " Tiyyas" from the resolution, and I confine my remarks on the resolution only to the depressed classes, of whom we have only 15,000 pupils, who can be brought into schools by compulsion. If I have understood the Director of Public Instruction correctly, for these 15,000 pupils of the depressed classes, his estimate is 6 lakhs of rupees. That means Rs. 40 a child, which, I say, is 8 times more than what the department is spending upon any other child.

Mr. C. MATTHAI.

What about feeding ?

Mr. A. B. SALEM.

We are not asking you to feed the children of the depressed classes. We have got 10 per cent of the depressed classes in schools, and we want the Government to take steps to bring the remaining 90 per cent into the fold of knowledge. We want to bring them under the orbit of education and instruction. We want particularly Pulayas and Nayadis—who are without instructions—to be brought into schools and instructed. We ask only for compulsion with respect to this particular class, because, for various reasons of suppression, depression, oppression, they are out of the pale of culture and civilisation. To atone for that suppressed and depressed condition, we must elevate them, as we have elevated others, by bringing them within the light of instruction, so that they may carry a little light to their dark homes.

PRESIDENT.

Without feeding them, can we induce them to come into schools ?

Mr. A. B. SALEM.

I say, Sir, if you give Re. 1 to every child for coming to school a month, we have only to spend Rs. 15,000 a month, that will be a very, very large amount. But even 8 a sufficient in my view.

Mr. C. MATTHAI.

Will the Hon'ble Member guarantee ?

Mr. A. B. SALEM.

It is only an experiment worth trying.

Mr. C. MATTHAI,

Every week we give a hearty meal, and still they disappear.

Mr. A. B. SALEM.

Much of the money was actually misappropriated.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

Mr. C. MATTHAI.

In places where it was not misappropriated, the very same thing happened.

PRESIDENT.

How does it go on now, and what will be the cost for a meal ?

Mr. C. MATTHAI.

One meal on every Friday, and it costs 1 anna and 3 pies.

PRESIDENT.

So, for one month, it will be only 5 annas. Mr. Salem wants it to be raised to Re. 1.

Mr. C. MATTHAI.

And that to be given in coin.

Mr. A. B. SALEM.

I am only suggesting one idea. There are only 15,000 children amidst these classes, and for these the Director wants 6 lakhs or Rs. 40 a year on a child. It is a very, very high figure. Spend Rs. 6, 7 or Rs. 10 on a child, and then it will be only $1\frac{1}{4}$ lakhs.

Mr. C. MATTHAI.

Not only feeding. We want teachers, buildings, etc., and all that comes to a big amount.

Mr. A. B. SALEM.

What is the cost of education for a child in the elementary classes ?

Mr. C. MATTHAI.

There are certain items of expenditure called "capital expenditure" and "recurring expenditure". Buildings is a capita expenditure.

Mr. A. B. SALEM.

That is not to be regarded as an expenditure in this case. Who wants buildings for these depressed classes ? (*Hear, hear.*) They can sit under a banian tree.

Mr. C. MATTHAI.

What will they do during the heavy monsoon ?

Mr. A. B. SALEM.

Give two months holidays at that time.

PRESIDENT.

In Chalakkudi they have good buildings and benches. Still they complain that the present accommodation is not sufficient.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly

What will be the amount for collecting them and gathering them under a banian tree ?

Mr. A. B. SALEM.

What I may suggest is that an attempt be made to start with one rupee a pupil, and I suggest that a lakh may be earmarked for a few years, say 6 years and thus make an attempt towards the elevation of the so-called depressed classes.

Mr. K. T. MATHEW.

This amount of one rupee may be used by the el' of the family for drinking.

Mr. C. MATTHAI.

Now, I remember an instance. When I was at Chalakkudi, I asked a child why he did not go to school. He told me that he had no clothes. Then I asked him whether the Headmaster did not give him clothes. The child told me that that was appropriated by the elders. So I have now given shirts, which I believe the elders will not appropriate, since they will not fit them. (*Laughter.*)

Mr. A. B. SALEM.

So my humble submission is that without compulsion it is not possible to bring these in. But the Government can keep this resolution in view, and earmark a sum of money for the specific purpose of imparting some sort of instruction to these so-called depressed classes, so that light and learning may penetrate their homes.

Mr. V. K. KOCHUNNI MENON.

Certain changes may be expected from the Government.

PRESIDENT.

Of course, from the trend of the speech, he is not for con ulsion, so that you have no amendment in view. He is emphasis ng financial considerations.

As it was 5 p. m., the House adjourned for the next day.

T K. KRISHNA MENON,

Secretary to the Council.

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly